1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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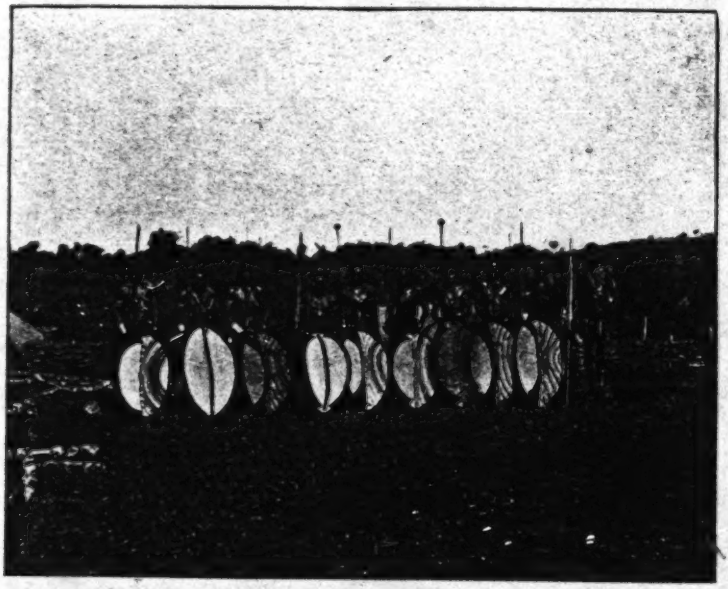

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing P. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-figanai-yok nalefig, einos sii 'l-tufiganak kitŭak, kake mme nalefig.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daĭki pōkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daĭki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pōki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chañgit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pōkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ĕar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ĕari 'l-osŏhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-loñgoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidoñgita náidoñgyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oĭbonok in-gidoñgita naapika 'soĭto le-'n-aĭbon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 237 [914] [915] [787]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make
593 a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely
561 when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This par-
881 ticular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a
593 man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [a]

881 " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [a] Though this
634 ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections,
● [184] its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke,
[114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony
561 performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first
634 to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[a] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[a] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 1; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of ***Endungore-Engibata***.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new ***piron***-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new ***piron***-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [60]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After ***Engibata*** candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view ***Endungore-Engibata*** is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of ***Embolosat***. This makes clear the different value of ***Embolosat*** and of ***Endungore-Engibata***. ***Embolosat*** opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[60] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwavi* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by Fosbrooke as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] Hollis, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *ol-oirupukinick* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. Fox says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

warriorhood". He also states that *Unoto* "is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Unoto*" states the same report, "lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX, [94] "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, "but by no means all". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says "not so big"; HOLLIS "small". Leakey and Fox state respectively "an enormous", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [56] [525] [533]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him. [158] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE, [159] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ". [160] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony ". This indicates that " that *ngeherr* of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of meat ". We are informed by FOX, [161] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second *ol-ngesher* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngesher* of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may [262] eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman.

The *ngeherr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand. [162] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER, [163] as follows: " when all the members [184]

[158] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[159] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[160] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[161] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 453 s.

[162] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at *oldonyo loo 'l moruak* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyas, Moshi District.

[163] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

is also confirmed by the fact that, as Fox [188] states, " the generation names (i. e. class names) emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors (initiates) of the two combined ages (age-units) have become elders. Therefore the age-names (i. e. age-unit names) tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names (i. e. class names) ". (Words in brackets mine). 561

It should be noted here that the acknowledgement of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* and of the Kisongo *Ngeherr* by all the Masai is the more remarkable if one considers the tendency of each territorial section to hold ceremonies of its own for the institution of the age-units.

X – THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

At this point, when all initiation ceremonies have been studied, it may be of interest to note that the ritual patterns of all these ceremonies, whether their value is territorially sectional or extends throughout Masailand, are essentially similar. Initiation ceremonies are made up of four main elements: *a*) testing and instruction of candidates; *b*) election of a leader; *c*) sacrifice of a bull; *d*) ceremonial fire. 561 [184]

a) The testing and instruction of the candidates is a broad expression which covers various rites performed at different times. It refers to all the ordeals (except circumcision) and confessions which candidates are expected to pass through, and to the instructions, blessings and prayers which the elders impart to, or offer for, their *piron* candidates.

b) Contrary to expectation the office of leader holds no attraction for the candidates. Very probably the reason is that such leaders, or officiers, as the *aigwenani* and *aunoni* are expected to act in a fashion which is not the fashion of their own age-mates at that moment. Indeed they are forced to act as elders when their companions are being recognised as junior or senior initiates. There is no detailed account of the election of the class-leader (*el-lòo-surutya*). If that opposition to office is viewed in the background of the leader's limited and temporary authority in the age system, it may be taken as a further indication that these leaders have nothing in common with political chiefs as found in centralized societies. 561 624

[188] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 449.

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "L-Ayok." "Muran."

According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

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CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361 M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

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184 between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also contrive to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Tigirish and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and melons. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not disdainful even of rats. Of these there were simply myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 313.

As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-njemps are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed took

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

in the course of which a curse is laid on a circumcision knife, and a fire-stick is ceremoniously broken. The actual ceremony is perhaps worked in conjunction with the *engibata* (see below), but the knowledge that it is about to take place is a sufficient deterrent to prevent unauthorised circumcision. The example has already been quoted (with reference to the laibon and age-grade ceremonies) of how, during his tour of Southern Masai in 1938 (June) ,the Laibon, Mbeiya, decreed at Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro that the *endungore* ceremony should be performed in a certain manner. In 1939 ,a certain Dwati elder at Naibormurt had brewed beer in preparation for the circumcision of his son. The Dareto elders, hearing of this, visited his boma in force, with the intention of spilling all the beer. In point of fact they drank it in company with the offending owner, but none the less they prevented the circumcision from taking place; this in spite of the fact that the *endungore* ceremony had not been actually performed.

The ceremony of *Engibata* appears to be a recruiting campaign for the new age. Bands of youths who are of a suitable age for circumcision wander round the country dressed as moran, but carrying only bows in their hands. They send news to a certain elder, by an olamal (deputation) of nine of their fellows, that they will visit his boma. The elder prepares food, milk and an ox, and any youths of the boma who are ready for circumcision are duly prepared to enter the *engibata*. The band thus wanders round the countryside adding to its numbers *en route*. This ceremony is performed four times without further incident, (twice only in the case of a left hand circumcision); on the conclusion of the fifth *engibata*, by which time all suitable candidates in the area concerned have been enrolled, the youths retire to a secluded spot in the bush, in company with the il *piron* elders. A beast is slaughtered, blessings invoked on the new age, and each boy given a strip of hide from the ceremonial ox.

There is a further pre-circumcision ceremony practised only by certain sections of the Masai, notably the Kenya Kakonyuke. It is said to occur prior to the above two ceremonies. The ceremony appears to be somewhat on the lines of the Unoto (see below): choosing a master of ceremonies from amongst the participants, seizing an ox by the horns, rivalry between sections, are all common features. The Kakonyuke ceremony must be performed before all others, and is attended by representatives of those sections who do not hold a ceremony of their own. There is, however, no information of representatives of the Kissongo attending this ceremony — in fact in South Masai the elders are extremely vague as to its meaning — but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul.

The choosing of a laigwanan or spokesman for each age and each area normally takes place in the hiatus between the end of one circumcision and the commencement of the next, i.e. at the same time as the above ceremonies. The method of their choice and their presentation to the laibon are dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that between one generation and the next there may be a gap of two or three years, so negotiations are not hurried; between the two ages of one generation the gap is probably less, but the ceremonies are likewise less important.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere aero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *enganjit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

623 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the owner-
619 ship of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country
628 was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in
● [99 178] many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*enapere loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laisukjuk in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Lalionde it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Enganumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the
923 clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a
499 present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 .(1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunóto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *otaberno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong'ee laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family .

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an anthelmintic agent.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(b) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·008	·004
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

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It appears at once that the incidence of yaws, malaria, helminthiasis and ulcers is higher amongst the Kikuyu, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of chronic constipation and arthritis is more frequent amongst the Masai. Pulmonary disease appears to be somewhat more frequent amongst the Kikuyu, especially in the in-patients.

It is obvious, however, that hospital statistics cannot truly represent the general incidence of disease in a native tribe. For this reason an attempt was made by the field worker to estimate the proportions of the diseases encountered most frequently in the course of his survey. Altogether, about 12,000 natives of both tribes were seen. Of those who attended for medical treatment, a large number in both tribes required dental extractions, and many were cases of local injury and conjunctivitis. Conjunctivitis is very common amongst the Kikuyu, especially the women, and less common amongst the Masai. The following table indicates approximately the incidence of the most common diseases in the two tribes (as percentages of the total number of cases of these diseases encountered in each tribe) :—

	Kikuyu.	Masai.
Bronchitis	28	4
Pneumonia	3	—
Tuberculosis	6	1
Ulcers	33	3
Malaria	18	2
Gonorrhœa	1	8
Intestinal stasis	4	45
Arthritis	2	35
Helminthiasis	5	2

With the exception of pulmonary conditions, this estimate is in good agreement with the hospital data. As regards pulmonary disease, the field worker's estimate is 37 per cent. for the Kikuyu and 5 per cent. for the Masai, while the hospital statistics (calculated on the same basis) show 34 per cent. in Kikuyu and 27 per cent. in Masai. Different possible explanations might be offered for the high figure from the Masai hospital. We have already noted that 20 per cent. of the patients at this hospital are not Masai. The figure for pulmonary disease might possibly be altered to some extent by exclusion of natives other than Masai. Again, we have no information as to possible dietary and environmental differences between Masai living in the neighbourhood of Narok as compared with the more remote parts of the Reserve. In this connection it is of interest to note that Masai prisoners in Nairobi Gaol appear to be particularly susceptible to pulmonary infections (Ann. Med. Rep. Kenya, 1923). It might be thought that their susceptibility is increased by the drastic change in diet and environment to which they are subjected in gaol. It is obvious, in any case, from this observation, that the Masai have

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12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibartan* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kelyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

461 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, " too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, 175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the [178] lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of " Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, " the farms ") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general 22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery*, etc., II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-osho*, is the *sirit* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ag*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ag* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata;* or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ag* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokuet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokuet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-aiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-aiguenani* remains its authority. A number of *sirit*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-osho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oshon* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *pororiet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshon* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kinopop, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[20] The *enk-ag* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mareita* (sing. *ol-marei*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mareita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-rook-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mareita* of Lo-l-pusin-kishu, Lo-l-ŋuesi, Ol-masila, and Nyaparai; and the Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rook-kishu, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-musii, and Lo-ŋeli.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-aiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ag* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-aiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-aiguenani;* though in certain respects he is analogous to the Aba Boku or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oiboni*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[20] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

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M 174 D 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Asá, more generally known under the name of Wandoróbo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. D [648] Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El lumbua, and the later ones the El muli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether. D [224] [735] A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 • 184 648 [731] The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El mãsai (sing. ol mãsanî), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./ the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]

In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184

A last group, finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M 192 101 /9 cont./ in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M 619 184 181 The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribesmen, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

M [144] M [648] M 829 619 [241] [231] [438] [731]

D 105 While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D
105 /9 cont./ dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El muli, admission into their community.

M
[829]
[179]

M
101 In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
• 184 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
177 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M
648 The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

M
[181]

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D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 612 [844] [196] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the El aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

P M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples

P M 128 the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ **Second Part**

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiboron lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/79 cont./

714 531 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni. A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 531 634 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one; the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems

714 531 634 184 174 791 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan. Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

/80 cont./

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1, [See p. 608--Analyst]

/129 cont./

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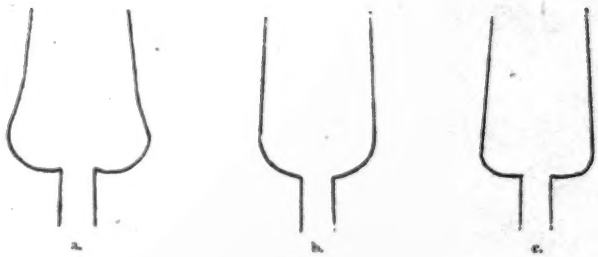

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two
[177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express
[184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above
[422] and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411
482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/133 cont./

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Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

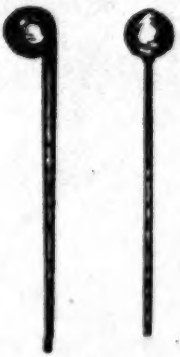

Fig. 35. (1/10).

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Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai [184] [224] impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved,

/197 cont./

844 as practicable and useful in and of itself, but understandably fear doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary cleanliness. Deeper, internal, manual and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the entire perineum.

845 One stands helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness
• 184 obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Masai living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always
[582] because the woman was too young. These last Masai, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the former, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps in general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature menstruation.

844 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she plants her bent legs against hut posts and leans herself against a hut pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an eh gaitoljoni expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/197 cont./

844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (os ogina) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol moromja. A naval bandage is unknown.

• [184] The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried [illegible]

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the

846 [824] [57] [751] birth act, she chews four grains of ol odoa (Blepharis lanceolata) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid extract of the twigs of eñ gairetuai (Physalis minima L.) and the stalks of eng alletoljai (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

846 757 The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded ol odoa corms, as well as a leaf infusion of os sitet (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with ol oliale bark (Colubrina asiatica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of ol gabere l e gemma (Sphaeranthus microcephalus), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of ol eduat (Epaltes gariepina) or also a decoction of

/306 cont./

821 light. The cubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[976] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(k gaiwa), though their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'k gelia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three ai nyaga
who are about to marry three widows. /307/ This constellation is
called 'k gaiyak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[974] 'k gelia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ai
anga) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
[989] tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
[illegible] ising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a breakfor them-
selves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one
for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (n' lahei Ilg ai =
the rides of God) the Masai have the following
names: North = Kilpeildi or Kilpeildi, which
also designates the land of the original home.
South = n' ngiroi, i.e., the battles: it is the
direction in which the Masai traveling south
always had to endure new battles against the
long-settled ol mpg. East = engilelanyu ebg
ajog = the sun rises. West = engilelanyu ebg
ajog = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the
people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer rarely only on
special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
• [184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only
the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the
face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/711 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights. cf. 3rd Part. II. IV. and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /713/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
• [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai,
[144] but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsistency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the 573 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/214 cont./

628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder: composition then takes its place.

[598] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 630 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally • 184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

/FL12 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property: his
87 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased.
184 For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter: in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder, as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle. Likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os ngutuai or ol onkonosi), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 [682] Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as sodomy (1).

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd bk. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd bk. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd bk. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th bk. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

18t Merker--302 G-8 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/

Third Part

I.

The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakwafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Taveta, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Taveta and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El saiti from the middle one, and the El gamurok from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[141] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
178 attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
182 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[184] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[177] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[144] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
[648] Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[72] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
351 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Allowing a three degree F. average temperature decrease for each 1,000 feet rise in elevation above sea level (Heady, 1960), much of Eastern Masailand would have up to six degrees F. higher average annual temperatures than Western Masailand. Over the greater part of both areas the mean annual rainfall is similar, with Western Masailand receiving roughly 30 inches while Eastern Masailand probably receives some 25 inches (Met. Dept., 1959).

Except for the Rift floor, the vegetation types and communities in both areas appear to have been much the same (Edwards, 1951:32; Edwards and Bogdan, 1951:3; Heady, 1960:12, et. seq. and his appended map of Grasslands and Potential Grassland Types). However, Eastern Masailand with lower rainfall and higher temperatures would be more vulnerable than the western area to desiccation through human activities, especially overgrazing, overburning, and diversion of water supplies.

As noted above, Western Masailand has been little affected by recent changes in human activity. On the other hand, Eastern Masailand has been intensively modified in the past fifty years or so. Much of Eastern Masailand is easily accessible by road and railway. Nairobi, capital of Kenya, lies at the northern end of Eastern Masailand. Nairobi was started in 1899

as a base camp for construction of the Uganda railway. Today it is a modern city of about 250,000 people. Spreading south and east from the city along the edge of Masailand are fenced ranches and farms. The Great North (Cape to Cairo) Road runs dustily through Eastern Masailand. Arusha, virtually surrounded by Masailand in northern Tanganyika, is a provincial capital and the center of a flourishing farming district. The provincial headquarters for the Masai Administration in both Tanganyika and Kenya are situated in Eastern Masailand.

The Masai living east of the Rift are from different sections of the tribe than those living to the west, and they are significantly less conservative. Consequently Eastern Masailand has received more ranching schemes, water holes and other projects to "improve" their livestock grazing than Western Masailand, and therefore Eastern Masailand is far more seriously overgrazed. Over much of the area vegetation is impoverished and surface conditions show severe desiccation.

It is difficult to obtain quantitative data on the numerical increase in livestock or its impact on the vegetation, since such data from earlier years are not generally available. One area where such data

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 • 184 224 *233 182 (262) No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (kongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 121 Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

*13 121 and most widespread such ecosystems of Africa. While *13 121 184 most African grassland ecosystems, including those of Eastern Masailand, have been modified by changes in human activities, those in Western Masailand have remained largely undisturbed.

*13 12 184 Although separated by the Rift, Eastern and Western Masailand were ecologically identical when the first white men arrived less than a century ago. Therefore these two land units provide the "before" and "after" examples, the control situation and the modified one. From this situation one may describe: the factors in operation in the undisturbed ecosystem; those in the disturbed situation; the nature of the changes and the factors involved; and the rates of change.

*13 121 The ecological and topographical barriers around Western Masailand are sufficiently effective that the boundaries of the ecological unit appear to have been essentially the same since prehistoric times.

The study area, therefore, presents an opportunity to study as nearly an undisturbed primitive grassland ecosystem as it is possible to find.

*114 181 and within the century they ruled most of East Africa. To a large degree they have maintained their own free way of life and they haughtily refuse to accept the *114 clothes and other trappings of western life. To 123 people coming from crowded and regimented countries there is a much to admire and envy in the Masai. In its more extreme forms this admiration is known in East Africa as Masai-itis.

*114 *13 181 On the other hand, some administrators who must deal with the Masai find frustrating at best their often-complete mistrust and rejection of foreign ideas. Most of those concerned with land use and managment of East Africa's natural resources see the Masai, like the Arab, as the father of the desert and not its son. [123] The strong feelings between those with "Masai-itis" and those with "anti-Masai-itis" are sometimes reflected in their reports and publications.

*114 184 The other factor contributing to confusion about the Masai is the general tendency to regard them as one unified group. Actually there are a number of separate sections of the Masai, some of them pastoral, some agricultural, and some in-between. There are very significant differences in customs involving land use even between adjoining groups of pastoral Masai.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

114 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking
184 of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800: The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kieru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#13 648 656 659 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

#13 • 184 The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

#13 648 224 65 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of [231] [513] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. [352] [354] Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with [184] [462] a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.